Some lessons on the proclaimed Iranian “victory”

A few hours ago, a two-week ceasefire agreement was announced in the war between Iran and the United States. Most have interpreted this agreement as an anti-imperialist victory for Iran. Below we share our reflections on the matter.

1. While the leaders of the U.S.-Israel axis and those of Iran exchange missile attacks and escalate the regional war according to their economic, geographical, and political interests, the Iranian proletariat is suffering enormously from the bombings. This exacerbates their already appalling situation of economic crisis and prolongs the suffering of Iranian society.

2. Therefore, we believe that to understand the real meaning of the war in Iran, it is not enough to approach this reality exclusively from the point of view of inter-imperialist contradictions and their economic-commercial interests, as geopolitical analysis frequently does. It is necessary to understand the situation of the Iranian working class and the contradictions it holds both with its own bourgeoisie and with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

3. For decades, the Iranian proletariat has borne the responsibility of enduring and resolving –through the super-exploitation of its labor power– the state's needs for military and armament infrastructure construction; it has also borne the devaluation of the rial, whose exchange rate plummeted by 84% during 2025; and, of course, the imposition of U.S. sanctions, which have cut the country's oil revenues and deprived its central bank of access to a good part of the resources it still holds.

4. Given the persistent decline in Iranian GDP over the past two decades, and the increase in inflation –which in 2025 stood at around 40%– the price of food and the shortage of basic necessities have directly impacted the already precarious economy of the salaried classes.

5. Approximately 30% of the Iranian proletariat lives below the official poverty line. The youth unemployment rate is close to 20%, as one of Iran's most pressing structural problems has been its inability to generate sufficient employment opportunities, despite its young and growing population.

6. It is surprising that a country with great natural resources and a large, relatively skilled industrial working class has such a devastated economy. However, the recurrent failure of corrupt and highly repressive governments, as well as the persistent efforts of imperialism, mainly Western, to weaken and suffocate Iranian economic development through abundant sanctions on its exports and the blocking of foreign investment, are among the elements that generate this economic decline.

7. Therefore, it is not surprising that the protests that broke out since late 2025 turned into mass actions with very clear political demands. A strike by merchants from a Tehran bazaar with clear economic intentions quickly transformed into a rebellion across various regions of Iran, incorporating political demands that fundamentally called for the fall of the mullahs' regime.

8. Undoubtedly, the elevation in the class struggle of the Iranian proletariat and its intensification in vast regions of the country caught the attention of U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, who sought –successfully– to take political advantage of the proletarian uprising.

9. In this context, it would have been strange if Israel had not been encouraging the street protests for its own benefit. But, despite the participation of Mossad forces in the demonstrations, the Iranian government initially dismissed them, giving us an eloquent picture of the class content of the rebellion: in an attempt to appease the protests, President Masoud Pezeshkian said, on January 31, that "the people are dissatisfied, the blame is ours (...) do not look for the United States as responsible." Later, Western interventionism did its part by stating through various media that Israeli intelligence and espionage forces were encouraging regime change.

10. All this was a magnificent pretext for the Islamic repressive apparatuses: the regime abandoned any attempt to distinguish between legitimate protesters and Zionist infiltrators, categorizing the rebellion as a "color revolution" orchestrated by the CIA and Mossad. To round things off, Iranian authorities claimed to possess recordings supposedly showing external agents distributing weapons and communication equipment to specific sectors of the insurgents.

11. The bulk of self-defined communist and/or revolutionary organizations took partial positions and stuck to the Washington-Tel Aviv-Tehran script, repudiating the popular demonstrations and attributing them entirely to Mossad. In this context, it was no longer strange to see effigies of Che Guevara alongside Khamenei, exalting an alleged "anti-imperialist conviction" of the despotic ayatollahs' regime.

12. The Western imperialists, always arrogating to themselves the "Iranian popular will," intensified their propaganda in favor of a "regime change". The bourgeoisies –both local and foreign– managed to "snatch" the legitimate liberating flags from the proletariat and, with this, polarized everyone. On one side, the Western "orchestrators" –violators of the sovereignty and self-determination of the Iranian "people"– and on the other, the Islamic Republic as the guarantor of the interests of the overused "Iranian people", executing a "just war" in defense of its self-determination and sovereignty... Meanwhile, the proletariat is massacred between the repressive measures of the mullahs' regime and the threat of perishing under Israeli-U.S. bombings. And so it went: condemnations of imperialist intervention (of course, always understanding imperialism as synonymous with the United States), repudiation of the rebellious popular movement (naturally, for being "instrumentalized" by Israel), and solidarity with the "Iranian people" (reducing "Iranian people" to a synonym for Khamenei and the regime of the Islamic "Revolutionary" Guard).

13. A fantastic tactic orchestrated by the rival bourgeoisies allowed for the media lynching of the popular forces in rebellion. The official narrative –reinforced by statements from the Israeli intelligence agency itself, as we have seen– served to justify the use of lethal force and criminal charges against the state and against God. Information control enabled the media lynching; this generated the isolation that is always the prelude to repression. And intense repression occurred massively... Much of the international communist movement felt satisfied with the punishment of the "interventionist traitors" and proud –or at least permissive– with the Iranian bourgeoisie and its repressive state, which not a few qualified as "anti-imperialist".

14. The struggle of the Iranian proletariat has once again been contained; first by the repressive forces of the state, but also by the political-military action of Western imperialism.

15. On the last day of February, the United States and Israel began their military attacks against Iran. By then, the demonstrations had ended, and U.S. imperialism had achieved significant advances in its expansionist policy of subordination in the countries of the American continent. The military subjugation of Venezuela through attacks on its ruling leadership, the de facto subordination of the regimes of Colombia and Mexico through economic pressures, demonstrate its strategic needs for control over energy, mineral, and natural resources, as well as the subjugation of the region's proletariat according to its economic and military struggles with other world powers.

16. In this sense, Iran, being a first-rate oil producer and maintaining a strategic geographical location in the control of oil flows and the Strait of Hormuz, becomes a key country for the advance or retreat in the imperialist conflict.

17. Iran is part of the imperialist bloc antagonistic to the interests of the United States in the Middle East region. Together with China and Russia, it has formed fundamental alliances for the expansionist policy of these powers.

18. Iran is a fundamental node of the Chinese Silk Road, acting as a crossroads between east-west (Beijing-Suez) and north-south (Tehran-Moscow). Likewise, for the benefit of its relationship with China, Iran is a privileged oil supplier and implements control over the raw material routes coming from Africa. Furthermore, it militarily reinforces Russia's southern flank (Black Sea and Caucasus). However, even though Iran is a fundamental node in China's expansionist policy, this partnership does not bring the direct benefits that the Tehran regime might expect in return: it does not prevent Western sanctions, does not facilitate free oil marketing, nor does it allow for its infrastructure modernization.

19. Iran reflects the economic importance of the entire Middle East region, which is why inter-imperialist disputes intensify in this area of the world. In this sense, the United States has placed its strategic pieces to try to neutralize or balance the Sino-Russian-Persian alliance: it has achieved the subordination or political infiltration of the governments of Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Armenia, and established multiple military bases throughout the Persian Gulf area.

20. For the United States, it is essential to break this Eastern imperialist articulation, and it needs a global reorganization that secures the necessary energy supplies for its reindustrialization processes, which implies controlling oil fields, trade corridors, and ports that allow it to dominate the import of raw materials and the export of Chinese manufactures.

21. Although all these strategic moves by the imperialist powers aim to extend their areas of control and influence according to their needs and interests, the key element to maintaining this dynamic is social stability in the regions where each power establishes its domination. A pacified proletariat subjected to rigid economic, political, and ideological controls is key to the development and conquest of the interests of monopoly capital.

22. The exhaustion of the monetarist pattern of capital accumulation –implemented since the 1980s– which has been evident at least since the great real estate crisis of 2008, has resulted in an inflection in the fundamental form of valorization that, in recent decades, has shifted from the speculative-financial sphere to the productive-commercial sphere. We believe that this implies a process of reindustrialization in the imperialist centers, as the U.S. government has insisted time and again, and as the medium and long-term economic plans of the Chinese government develop.

23. Capitalism is not urgently facing its imminent decline, but it is directing its economic policies prospectively towards the immediate resolution of its contradictions. From this comes the need to “recharge” the valorization process in the productive-commercial sphere, which consequently forces it to redesign its forms of control over the working class. The implementation of “new labor relations” contained in labor legislation tends to adapt to these needs for super-exploitation of labor power.

24. The accelerated scientific-technological development stimulated by competition among imperialist powers results in the elevation of the organic composition of capital in industries and, consequently, negatively affects capitalist profit. This historical contradiction of capitalism is attempted to be alleviated with various measures ranging from the progressive impoverishment of

the working class through the increase in their productivity levels and precariousness, to the destruction of surplus capital through medium and large-scale war.

25. War allows this contradiction to be resolved. War is agreed upon by the contending bourgeoisies, but it is executed by the salaried classes both in industry and on the battlefront.

26. The army of proletarians in any country engaged in an imperialist war is subjected on two fronts: on one hand, subjected to the intensification and extension of exploitation on the production line by “their” employers, and also used as combatants by “their” state defending the interests of “their” bourgeoisie. On the other hand, they are subjected to the bestial armed attack of the enemy army, which is also composed of workers who obtain their supplies through the intense exploitation of their fellow workers subjected by that “foreign” bourgeoisie.

27. Thus, observing things in this way, we believe that the war between the U.S.-Israel axis against Iran is nothing other than the objective and immediate manifestation of the confrontation between two world imperialist blocs headquartered in Washington and Beijing –passing through Moscow– that tenaciously fight for control of various strategic zones that will allow them to control large sectors of the labor force and vast natural resources to face the challenges that historical crises impose on capitalism.

28. From this it follows that, although the proletariat of one country sees the proletariat of the rival country as its direct enemy, in reality both are victims of the same executioner: the bourgeoisie and its interests as a world social class. Of course, nationalism is the alienating element of this fetishism: *“before being a worker or a bourgeois, you are _______ (insert preferred nationality)… let us fight for the liberation of our people and not be traitors to the homeland!”*

29. From our point of view, Iran has mutated in the current conjuncture from an Islamic republic to a nationalist republic. The proletariat that weeks ago fought against the regime now hangs its head in the process of producing armaments and military supplies “in defense of the homeland”. We do not doubt in any way that there are dissidents to this patriotism, but in terms of class, the proletariat was framed in the imperialist struggle in favor of “their” nation (and to the detriment of their own struggle as a class).

30. Ten hours ago, the U.S. government threatened to wipe the Iranian nation off the map. Three hours later, the United States was still threatening, and Iran responded belligerently (of course, taking care to use the inhabitants of Tehran as human shields on bridges and power plants very well supplied with national flags) stating that it would not take its finger off the trigger in the face of “imminent” aggression. Two hours later, threats from both sides continued, but there was already an approach to negotiate. Two hours later, a ceasefire agreement was already being reached between the parties. A rather strange bidding, an abnormal, artificial negotiation. The rest is jubilation over the “triumph” of “anti-imperialis” Iran (which, of course, was pressured by its ally China to achieve this agreement).

31. War is one of the ways that capitalists use to overcome the contradictions that afflict them and to force the reorganization of the world among hegemonic powers. The interests at stake are not the interests of the contending “nations”, but the interests of the ruling classes –who regularly do not even have the “nationality” of those countries in conflict.

32. The proletariat is the one that sets in motion this war machinery that systematically ruins them, both militarily and productively. Those who suffer the destruction of their homes, their lives, their future, are the proletarian masses who endure the fire of bombs, the missiles of the “enemy”, and suffer the repression of “their” own state, at any refusal to be part of this carnage, under the accusation of treason to the homeland.

33. The “victory” of Iran –which half the world proclaims everywhere– in defense of its sovereignty and national self-determination must be clearly defined. If we adopt a proletarian point of view, we must recognize that this alleged Iranian victory has left class relations intact and, therefore, remains immersed in international capitalist competition which, even before the war, had already sadly impacted the existence of the working class –as we explained in the first points of this writing. In this way, it is clear to understand that the control of the means of production by that bourgeoisie that establishes its interests in Iran continues to retain control of the state apparatus. With this, we can affirm that this “defense of the nation” was always, from the beginning, the defense and reproduction of the dominant classes. Thus, unfortunately, the Iranian proletariat is not the one that has “triumphed”, but rather their dominators have done so by subordinately using the strength of the salaried classes.

34. Motivated by Israeli-U.S. aggressions and an intense propaganda campaign by the theocratic regime, nationalism positioned itself positively among the Iranian proletariat, which fully assumed it. This positive attitude towards nationalism is a terrible blow to the international communist movement, which for the most part closed ranks in support of this nationalism. Why a blow to communists? Because the acceptance of nationalism implies a disinterest in communism.

35. From our point of view, supporting nationalism implies supporting national confrontations, imperialism, and war. Thus, today we are witnessing a lamentable scenario where communists have renounced the strategy of fighting for the disappearance of capitalism and instead launched slogans in favor of nationalism promoted by the theocratic regime; slogans in favor of “national capitalism”.

36. What matters is not who has won; in the end, they represent the same exploiting and predatory essence. What matters is to analyze who lost, and sadly, we will see that neither the world proletariat nor the communist movement have achieved a qualitative advance during this conjuncture.

37. For all the above, we consider that the only just struggle is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; “the national” constitutes an obstacle to the class struggle and we must combat it intransigently. Like all bourgeois ideology, national slogans and objectives divert the proletariat from its revolutionary goal, stimulates reciprocal hostility in the working class and fragments it by nation, thus hindering or destroying the necessary unity of the proletariat.

Workers have no fatherland!

Every national struggle is reactionary!

Workers must have as their immediate universal objective
the fight against capitalism for the conquest of communism!

Communist Workers' Collective

April 8, 2026